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ABSTRACT

How beginning secondary schools teachers shift from university-based to school-based practices was investigated. Thirty-one subjects were followed over a 3-year period through their preparation programs and into their second teaching year. Findings suggested that beginning teachers use conscious selection, processing, and use of information for the purpose of establishing for practical purposes professional beliefs and practices. Rationalizing compromise between preferred practices and choosing the path of least resistance is characteristic of this strategic adjustment. Specific kinds of school factors such as non-responsive or disruptive students, were associated with teachers' modification or setting aside of university learnings. Findings also suggested that beginning teachers who taught large numbers of non-achieving or culturally different students in urban schools came to use these students a role models, implying reverse socialization. (JD)

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SOCIALIZATION ON THE JOB: HOW BEGINNING TEACHERS MOVE FROM UNIVERSITY LEARNINGS TO SCHOOL-BASED PRACTICES

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SOCIALIZATION ON THE JOB: HOW BEGINNING TEACHERS MOVE FROM UNIVERSITY LEARNINGS TO SCHOOL-BASED PRACTICES

"In any social scene within any setting...social actors carry on a culturally constructed dialogue. This dialogue is expressed in behavior, words, symbols, and in the application of cultural knowledge to make instrumental activities and social situations 'work'." (Spindler & Spindler, 1987, p. 5) The culturally constructed dialogue of teachers concerns student learning and how best to cause it to happen within the constraints of the institutional setting. Thus teacher dialogue deals with subject content, planning, teaching methods, classroom and behavior management, homework, testing, and use of time. Even though teachers may experience common preparation they do not necessarily hold common beliefs about, or behaviors to deal with, the facets of teaching because they bring varied "biographies" (Britzman, 1987) to the classroom context. In addition, teaching, as Lacey (1977) suggested, "is a divided profession. It is divided by the expertise and understandings that the professionals bring to the classroom; divided by the status and function of the institutions in which they serve; it is divided by the training, professional and social origins of its members..." (p. 31) It is, I would add, divided by the types of students the teacher teaches and the ethos of the particular school and classroom contexts. Thus, each teacher develops

uniquely based on personal biography and dialog established within the particular teaching context.

To become a teacher the beginner first experiences formal induction via an institution designed for that purpose. Even when induction programs provide workplace experiences through practicums, internships, and such, teachers, facilitators or mentors serve as buffers to the "real" world. Thus the novice is able to maintain an unrealistic view of teaching and his accomplishments within the profession. When he is finally independent of the university discontinuities between university learnings and public school realities emerge which require resolutions. Much of teacher socialization involves resolving these discontinuities. The nature of the dialogue established in the school and classroom determines how the teacher will adapt practice to resolve the discontinuities and ultimately be socialized. To understand the adaptive process this paper will examine the particular discontinuous factors related to teachers adaptative behaviors.

Data Collection

I was hired as part of a research and evaluation team charged with examining two pilot graduate level, fifth-year teacher preparation programs implemented during Summer, 1985. The programs were sponsored by a college of education in a medium sized state university located in an urban

center of the mid-southern United States. No discrimination is made here between programs because systematic observation data (McNelis & Etheridge, 1988) indicate that during the second semester of their first teaching year, no significant differences in teaching practices existed among graduates of the two programs. My role was to document program processes as well as perceptions of program participants. The first program cycle was spent becoming oriented to the programs and doing exit interviews of program participants. During the second implementation cycle (1986-87) I became an observer participant--attending classes and social gatherings with students, hanging around in the halls where gossip occurred, attending faculty/staff planning and orientation meetings, observing students in their teaching internship placements, helping with masters thesis studies, and interviewing all participants including appropriate university and school personnel. Graduates of the first cycle who were teaching were also interviewed. During cycle III (1987-88) focus was on graduates of cycles I and II; they were observed, and interviewed regarding their teaching experiences and practices and their supervisors and principals were surveyed and interviewed regarding these beginners' teaching abilities and practices. During cycle IV (1988-89) interviews continued with cycle I and II graduates who were in their second and third teaching years, were willing to participate, and who were considered to be

reliable informants. In addition, I became a participant observer in cycle IV as a pedagogical mentor in one of the programs. This meant holding seminars and advising a group of students during their teaching internships.

Across the course of the internship and teaching years, subjects were asked to (1) compare how their teaching had changed from when they began teaching; (2) describe lessons that were successful and unsuccessful; (3) explain why they selected their particular practices, and (4) explain why they felt these practices had the results they did.

Interviews and observations were recorded as fieldnotes in the format described by Spradley (1980); condensed fieldnotes were taken during structured interviews and immediately following informal interviews. These were transformed into expanded fieldnotes within 24 hours of data collection. For accessibility, fieldnote protocols were numerically coded to identify interviewer, program, interview sequence, page number and paragraph. Fieldnotes were content analyzed for preestablished as well as emergent categories. Case studies (Etheridge, 1988a, 1988b, 1988c; Greer, 1988; Dietrich, 1988; James, 1988; Smith, 1988; Troutman, 1988) of subjects who represented extreme and typical cases were also completed. This paper synthesizes the case studies and content analyses of the field notes. It describes representative experiences and factors that seem to provide insight into the nature and cause of

teaching practice adjustments exhibited by this group of novice teachers as they engaged teaching after exiting the university.

Subjects

Data were collected from 79 secondary teacher preparation students as they completed their teacher preparation programs. Of these, 31 remained subjects after graduation because they held full-time teaching positions and agreed to participate in the follow-up study. They represent two races and seven subject content areas. Eleven were teaching in urban schools, 12 in suburban, seven in rural and one in a private school. (See Table 1)

Of the 31 beginning teachers, 23 were classified as average. For this study, average was defined as individuals who were considered by their administrators, and others with whom they worked, to have neither exceptional competence nor incompetence in carrying out their teaching responsibilities but who were predicted to become respectable teachers. Eight teachers were designated as extreme cases. Five were labeled extremely capable or the "best teacher in the school" by their principals. They demonstrated initiative and leadership within the school, used diverse teaching strategies and materials, and were considered able to motivate their students. One taught in a suburban school and three taught in urban schools. Though they are

considered extreme positive cases, they exhibited the generalizations to be presented.

Three teachers were designated extremely incapable teachers by their administrators (Etheridge, 1988a). None of these were recommended for reemployment for their second teaching year. They taught in urban and private school environments and exhibited extreme tenacity in maintaining the teaching beliefs and behaviors with which they began their teacher preparation. Thus, throughout their internships and first employment year their entering practices and beliefs remained constant even though the strategies did not appear to be working and supervisors pressured them to change. These three extreme cases did not exhibit the generalizations to be presented.

The novices in this study came to their first full-time teaching positions with their "cognitively mapped prior experiences," (Gearing, 1976) and felt ready. They had observed teachers' behaviors for years, completed extensive formal training in appropriate terminology and teaching strategies, studied how learning occurs, and practiced in micro-teaching labs and school-based internships. They successfully applied, with guidance, their formal learning about teaching and all satisfactorily completed the local education agencies' (LEA) beginning teacher evaluation. These beginners were confident and held the view that they would cause all students to learn and, indeed, "Go into the

schools and straighten things out." They, like many moving from student to work cultures that appear the same, began by interpreting school life as they did when they were teaching interns. To their dismay they noticed differences and experienced lack of fulfillment of expectations similar to those described by Kramer (1974) among beginning nurses. For the teachers in this study, discontinuity and subsequent teaching adaptations were associated with four factors: time constraints, work conditions, teaching assignment, and student behaviors.

Time Constraints

Although most of the beginning teachers dealt with time constraints during their teacher preparation they did not anticipate the similar time constraints they encountered from the very earliest days of their employment. Upon graduation, and despite warnings to the contrary, they anticipated being hired immediately and they anticipated having all summer to prepare enriched, creative, and motivating lessons for their classes. Instead, most were not hired until early August; one individual was hired the third week after school began. Some did not learn their school placement until one week prior to reporting and learned their specific teaching assignment only after reporting to the school on the first work day. Few knew their exact teaching assignment when hired. Thus, no time

existed to thoroughly plan as they had been taught, desired, and anticipated. Their forced adaptations were to read subject content along with the students instead of reading and researching content in advance. They immediately and increasingly used existing textbook units instead of designing their own units or lessons to reflect student needs, and they relied on textbooks as the primary and often sole learning material instead of searching out supplemental materials that might be enriching and more motivating. Under these circumstances they were forced to begin teaching by using very routine pedagogy with minimal planning and preparation.

In university coursework they learned to pace their teaching based on particulars of the content, student needs, and time available. Supervisors, armed with curriculum guides, pressured many of these beginners to maintain a specific teaching pace through the curriculum so that certain units of content were completed within a set period of weeks thereby keeping consistency within the school system. These beginners independent professional lives began somewhat unprofessionally, without thorough planning, and with lockstep progression through the curriculum. They were bothered by this reality but by the end of the first semester of their first teaching year, all were speaking in terms of "covering content" rather than "teaching the content."

The first weeks on the job revealed other time constraints peculiar to teaching and schools. First, daily homeroom responsibilities precluded last minute mental preparaton for the day's classes and added non-instructional responsibilities. Student records had to be kept and reports made and homeroom students who had no structured activities in which to be engaged had to be kept orderly. Second, the fifty-five-minute class periods were not completely dedicated to teaching. Attendance had to be taken and associated reports completed, announcements were made, and behavior problems addressed. In addition, students were excused from classes for pep rallies, assemblies, production rehearsals, and field trips for other classes. In at least one school, three bells rang at intervals beginning five minutes prior to the period end. These were intended to cue for the impending end of class but students stopped work with the first bell shortening the period by 5 minutes. Thus, non-instructional activities consumed valued instructional time.

At first these novices resented such intrusions into their teaching but then realized that interruptions where students were taken from their classes could provide additional time; they began to take their recordkeeping and papergrading work to the assemblies, rallies, etc. Some found ways to stay in their classrooms to work. They also began to double-dip at faculty and in-service meetings by

doing their recordkeeping and papergrading work at the meetings. And they began to plan for abbreviated class periods.

Non-instructional but instruction-related activities consumed more out-of-class time than anticipated: homework, seatwork, and tests required devising and grading; labs and special projects required preparations; topics required researching; parents, guidance personnel, and other teachers required conferencing; and meetings, PTA and professional, required attending. Time, in the form of one 55-minute planning period was provided for accomplishing or preparing for these tasks. The time provided was inadequate but these beginners dug in and worked nights and weekends to complete their professional responsibilities. Joelle, a chemistry teacher in a suburban school, was typical of the others. She explained how she completed her professional responsibilities.

> I have one planning period each day and this is not enough time to plan classes, labs, and do lab setups. I get to school at 6:30 to set up labs. I would come earlier but the doors are not unlocked earlier. (CEL166-4-24) I leave school at 3:30, go home, eat dinner and take care of other chores and I begin planning or grading papers at 7:30 and work until 12:30 or 1:00 a.m. I'm fortunate that my boyfriend works nights because I don't have to attend to him. On weekends he comes here and watches me do schoolwork. (CEL166-5-30)

Like Joelle, these novices soon decided that they were unwilling to dedicate all their waking hours to teaching and began to adapt. Essay tests were among the first targets.

They shifted to machine graded tests with the explanation that time was short but, they rationalized, multiple choice questions were appropriate and good for the students because the questions they devised were thought-provoking. Another early adaptation was to give less homework. When school policy required a minimum amount of homework be given, these teachers began to stop grading it. They either checked off the homework as completed and assigned a grade based on number of homework assignments completed or they had the students check their own homework without the teacher seeing it except in a superficial way. Their reasoning was that students learned more by grading their own work. At least one teacher reported throwing homework away after checking it off.

Other adaptations to time constraints included adjusting their instructional strategies. Joelle, instead of giving direct instruction and monitoring her students for the entire 50-minute period, devised a way to teach, "...25 to 30 minutes. Then I give them an assignment and I sit down and work on the next day's lesson. This way I get 2 hours each day for planning." (CEL166-9-56) In addition, she used, "peer tutoring everyday. I teach the lesson then I give an assignment. I ask who understands and those students stand up so everyone can see. I tell the students that if they need help they can ask those students." (CEL166-9-62) By December of her second teaching year,

Joelle avoided teaching on Mondays. "I plan independent reading or writing activity for my students on Mondays so I can use the time to plan for the rest of the week." By February of that same academic year Joelle reported, "I teach, "three days a week" using the same strategy for Friday. She rationalized that, "My students are not hurt by this because I plan activities for them from which they can learn. But, I don't have to interact with them. (CEL166-4-26).... If my students do not understand the lesson or have many questions I work with them instead of doing my planning." (CEL166-5-28)

In response to time constraints, similar adaptations were exhibited and reported by most teachers in this study. Time constraints forced them to adopt practices that were inconsistent with what they learned at the university but did, they reported, result in student learning and their own survival. Initially they rationalized that students were continuing to learn, then they added the justification that time allowances for on-the-job planning demanded these adjustments. All, however, continued during their second or third teaching years to dedicate some evening or weekend time to teaching responsibilities.

Work Conditions

Beginning teachers often have the least preferred assignments and work situations. Among this group preferred assignments were defined as schools with strong

administrative, leadership, availability of appropriate instructional materials, and achieving students; least preferred assignments referred to the absence of these components. Alene's experience illustrates the difference in adaptive adjustments required of teachers when these elements were present or absent.

During her first two teaching years Alene taught social studies in two inner city schools serving poverty populations. In school one she described the administrator to be well organized, supportive of teachers, and concerned about student learning. He worked with her, encouraging her. She went to him frequently for advice. Her classroom contained permanent instructional aids like maps, globes, overhead projector, etc. Additional equipment was available for her use and other instructional materials were procurred when she requested them. She liked teaching and used varied instructional materials and strategies with her students. In late summer, before year two began, she was replaced by a coach and transferred to school 2 where her administrator was described to be punitive. Her classroom lacked the equipment of the prior year. In October she was still trying to get maps hung in her classroom and the glue removed from both of her chalkboards. "I don't mind having a map that has Bechuanaland on it," she commented, "if I could only get it hung up." She was forced to adapt her teaching practices by eliminating use of equipment,

instructional aids and chalkboards. She used "purple monsters" (mimeographed worksheets) and "talked a lot about wars and fighting to keep the students awake." In addition, she stopped interacting with the administration, "I work as though the administration didn't exist." (ATM170-2-5)

When beginning teachers had positions in growing communities, there was often a shortage of classroom space so they had no permanent classroom assignment, and were called "floaters." In this study floaters were usually found in suburban schools. They sometimes were based in a community room where they and other floaters had desks but, they were often likely to work in the faculty lounge during planning periods and kept their teaching materials in large book bags or on rolling carts which were pushed to the various classrooms in which they taught. Mary Beth, a foreign language teacher in this situation, reported preferring to use transparancies, films, maps and charts to teach various aspects of her foreign language and to keep students interested. As a floater, she carried appropriate teaching aids with her since she taught in several classrooms that did not contain this equipment. If she wished to show a film the projector cart had to be pushed along with her other cart to the next classroom. It was a cumbersome task so she recruited students to push her cart, however, they were unreliable because they came or went to distant parts of the school building leaving little time to

assist her. By November of her first teaching year, Mary Beth decided that she could teach just as effectively without the films, maps and charts though the class might not be quite as interesting. She anticipated that perhaps, "next year I'll have my own classroom and then I'll use these materials."

Teaching Assignment

Most of the beginning teachers in this study were certified in multiple subject content areas but expected to be hired to teach the subject content of their primary certification area. Fearing they would not be hired, however, some accepted positions knowing they would be assigned to teach coursework which was not in their primary certification area. Others were reassigned to teach content out of their certification area. None are known to have refused a placement because they were asked to teach out of the content area for which they were best prepared. Sam (Etheridge, 1988b), for example, was certified to teach chemistry but most of his training, preparation, and interests were in physics. He was hired to teach physics but at the last minute agreed to teach one chemistry class in order to remain teaching in the school. He understood and loved physics and, having a clear conceptualization of how physics should be taught, he operated on his beliefs. He taught his strategies to colleagues, and, in two years,

oversaw the redesign of the physics curriculum. Sam voiced the same teaching beliefs with regard to chemistry but felt less comfortable and knowledgeable with this subject. He designed elaborate labs for physics but never held a single lab for his chemistry class yet he said the most effective teaching of chemistry should include labs. Having no liability insurance and fearing his lack of knowledge about chemistry might result in a lab accident he decided not to have chemistry labs. Avoiding the risk of a lab accident was his justification. Instead, he did demonstrations from which, he rationalized, the students could learn equally well.

Hannah, whose primary certification area was social studies, was assigned to teach two sections of English, her minor certification area, and three sections of German for which she was not certified. This was her teaching assignment for her first two teaching years. She reported not knowing the English grammar well enough to teach it effectively although she learned it to teach it. She considered her conversational German to be weak so she taught mostly German grammar with minimal oral work. During summer break she attended school where she was forced to converse in German and earned enough credits to become certified in that content area. In her third teaching year she was assigned to teach six sections of German and continued to emphasize grammar because of her tentative

confidence in her German pronounciation. She was uncomfortable with the lopsidedness of the German curriculum but rationalized that students were learning German and when her skills were improved enough, she would balance the curriculum.

These teachers, and others like them, adapted first, by agreeing to teach subject content with which they were not comfortable. Their adaptation was to teach the best they could which meant routine, less enriched pedagogy. They rationalized that student learning continued to occur.

Student Behaviors

These teachers, encountered the full range of student types during their teaching internships. They, at some time, worked with black and white students, poor and not, achievers and not. They encountered substance abusers and delinquents along with ideal students. When their placements were one semester or less they maintained the perception that students were more responsible, interested, cooperative, and capable. (Etheridge, Butler, Etheridge, James, 1988; McNelis & Etheridge, 1987) When these teachers became solely responsible for their classes for longer than one semester this perception of students began to change.

Initially, when students were encountered who were not academic achievers and who did not respond to the teacher's academic instruction or behavior management techniques the

teachers varied their instructional strategies. They adjusted the kind of assignment, taught in smaller information bits, tried group work, found new teaching materials, etc. These initial instructional strategies and early adjustments were consistent with existing pedagogical beliefs and university teachings. When students failed to respond to these instructional adjustments in ways the teacher deemed appropriate additional and different strategies were selected from choices compatable with the teacher's existing pedagogical beliefs until appropriate, student behaviors were attained. When teaching attempts continued to be unsuccessful, teachers considered and selected, practices they heretofore rejected. These practices may have been described at the university as unacceptable or observed among other teachers and declared unacceptable by individual beginning teachers. But they were tried when all else failed. Whatever seemed to work was adopted as a permanent practice. The teacher's concept of how teaching should occur, however, was not changed. What changed was the perception of what practices were appropriate or worked with particular children. Teachers quickly pointed out that with other students they would teach differently.

Dierdre, for example, taught Spanish in a suburban high school. She reported minimal problems with her students' learning and behaviors and minimal adjustments to her

teaching practices were evident. Not all of her students learned as she desired but she felt most learned and behaved in her classes. Some students, however, did not perform as she expected. Their test scores were low and their classroom interactions were disruptive. After repeated unsuccessful attempts to motivate and elicit their cooperation and effort she reported in June at the close of her first teaching year, "Some students simply do not do the work. I finally quit trying to make them do it. They were being disruptive. Finally I said, 'OK, if you don't do the work just be quiet or put your head down on the desk." (CEM196-4-7)

Dierdre was not unique with this response. Other teachers also reported that their attempts to manage some disruptive students did not work. They too allowed these students to figuratively drop out of class activities if they were not disruptive. These teacher decisions were in response to student behaviors and based on rationalizations that time was limited, other more interested students required attention, and these students were not interested. Thus the teachers' abandonned their initial teaching belief that all students can be taught.

Similar adaptations were made when students were poor learners and teachers' attempts to remediate were unsuccessful. Since other students required teacher attention and were more rewarding to work with the teachers

directed their instruction to the majority and, as Travis said, "...I spend less time on the five percent I know won't make it. It's a numbers game." (CEL2-2)

These beginning teachers also experienced adjustment related dilemmas associated with grading. None but the honors students achieved academically as the beginning teachers expected. During their internships and early months of their first jobs, most of these teachers were vocal about not, "lowering their standards." They firmly believed that students, after failing a couple of tests, would begin to study and their test scores would improve. Many students, however, did not improve their test scores or respond to grades as rewards but teachers were pressured to pass more students. Clara, teaching math to urban minority students, would not curve her test grades during her first two teaching years; she was convinced that once students realized she was tough they would rise to her expectations. But in June of her second teaching year she reported,

> I am blamed when my students fail or do not come to school. The administration says I am not motivating them to come and study so it is my fault. I graded my final exam on a curve for the first time. I used to be a hard ass about that but there is too much pressure if you fail too many. I figure some can't perform on tests and my final exam was multiple choice. This kind of test is not good for math because the teacher cannot see the solution to the problem. Ideally the teacher should get the student to verbalize what they did or be able to see the solution for an accurate assessment. I figure it wouldn't matter if 50 was passing because this type test isn't a

> real accurate measure anyway. I used it because it is faster to grade. (CEM198-3-8)

This teacher adapted by giving a test with a less desirable format and lowering grading standards. The adjustments were coupled with strong justifications that time was short and since the test format was wrong a friendly grading curve was appropriate.

Teachers repeatedly reported that students "know that a teacher gets in trouble if too many students fail. Students count on getting away with doing less because the teacher won't want to fail so many." These dynamics were usually evidenced in homework activities. Oftentimes students would not do homework. Teachers encouraged students, called parents, gave more interesting assignments, shortened the assignments, or gave fewer and simpler homework assignments. One teacher lamented that her students did not even do homework when they had opportunity to do it in class. Other teachers, took a tough stance with which they were uncomfortable. Nancy, teaching English in an inner city high school, explained her position.

> I am hard on my students. At first I thought their lack of motivation was me, but it is their culture. They don't care and their parents don't care. the students don't come to school, and when they do they don't bring their homework.... (CEL200-4-2)
>
> I have learned that they play games with teachers and more with me because I am white. Like with homework. At first I would assign the homework and give a due date. On that day they told me all kinds of stuff like they didn't know the assignment, they lost their book, they were

> sick, etc. Now when I give a homework due date it is due on that date, no matter what. I stick to it. A lot of my students failed at first. They didn't think I would stick to what I said. I make them do it. If a student is absent I send the homework with mama. I question whether I am too rigid but I don't think I am in this case with homework.

Nancy and others like her did not want to be rigid but because it worked the practice was used and viewed as appropriate even though they were uncomfortable with it. They were responding to complex interactions between supervisory pressures, their own professional knowledge, and student characteristics.

Students also affected teachers' communication style in classrooms. Initially teachers communicated in ways reflecting their own personalities and cultural backgrounds which students sometimes pointed out to the teacher. One teacher reported, "My kids think I am funny because I have a high voice. I don't have a low, low Mama voice." But, if teachers perceived that their communication style was misinterpreted by the students or ineffective they searched for alternatives until their conclusions were similar to Nancy's reported here:

> I used to think that all kids were the same but these kids are different...They interpret kindness as weakness. A teacher who gives second chances or talks kindly with behavior problems is viewed as weak. Many teachers have told me that whites do not know how to teach black children. I know the principal would prefer all black teachers. I agree and understand. I, a white teacher, cannot deal with these children like the black teachers do. They understand and respect the teacher who

> speaks their language. I can't tell them, 'You are a sorry nigger...' But I can give back to them what they understand.
>
> For example, one boy is real arrogant. He leans back in his desk and stretches his feet out. One time I said, 'Get out your books.' He looked at me and said, 'You gotta motivate me.' I replied, 'I'll motivate your black ass if you don't get out your book.' He sat up and got his book out without another word. (CEL200-3-2)

Most of the teachers in this study who worked with students embracing non-middle class values and behaviors and who remained for a second teaching year adapted their behavior management strategies by adopting vocabulary and sometimes more violent behaviors similar to that of their problem students in an effort to maintain an orderly classroom and to survive. Thus, reports were recorded of teachers, at wits end, shoving students against a wall or reporting that they can "get in their faces and say things like, 'You think I'm a bitch....'" These kinds of behaviors, they reported, gained student respect or fear. Regardless,.behavior problems were reported to decrease when teachers learned to, "...talk to them the way they talk to you." (CEM198-8-1-)

Teachers in urban settings reported subtle and not so subtle student threats. Those who returned for a second teaching year often pointed out that they were not afraid of their students and the students were not afraid of the teacher. Teachers learned to deal with students on student terms as Nancy did:

> I have never felt threat to my person while at this school. I have stayed after school for a couple of hours. I have been to their houses. I never felt threatened. One time I was threatened in an indirect way. I tell the students that if they disrupt the lesson they owe me time for the time they took from class. They have to stay after school. One boy was disruptive and I told him he had to stay after school. He told me that, 'some people get raped in this neighborhood.' I responded, 'Oh, I hope you don't get raped.' I had no problem with him after that. I have never been frightened at this school. (CEL200-8-10)

Teachers who worked with low achieving students reported having particular problems with students when a lesson required putting equipment into student hands. They reported students to be particularly destructive. Carol told of her life science students dismantling a model of a skeleton, and breaking microscopes; Duane reported students stealing faucets from the lab sinks. They responded as Angela did, "I don't have labs. I can't run the risk and neither can the other teachers so I am content not to have labs. I do demonstrations but I don't put the equipment into their hands." (CEM160-2-5)

When students were resistant to the full range of the teacher's instructional strategies, teachers became frustrated as they dwelled on these non-achievers and generalized to all students as Angela did:

> I'm frustrated. I don't feel I am making any headway with these students. I have decreased my expectations to a point that I feel like I am not earning my money. These students are capable of more than I am teaching them. But they have to put something into the process. I don't understand these students. When I was growing up

> I wanted out of where I was. These children don't seem to have that desire. They give up too quickly. 89% of this school is black but it isn't the black kids who give up. It's the white kids.... (CEM160-3-6)

Angela generalized to all students she taught and viewed them all as unwilling to learn. Teachers in suburban, urban, and rural schools who taught underachievers had similar reactions. However, because urban schools had critical masses of underachieving students, teachers reactions were more intense and extreme.

It seems that student related changes in teacher instructional practices resulted from complex interactions between teacher and students. Each molded the other until a balance was struck that satisfied, to some degree, teacher and student. In urban schools, because the number of students who did not respond to strategies deemed as pedagogically sound was so large, teachers seemed to adapt by adopting their last choices of teaching strategies and interaction patterns. These reflected interaction patterns used by the students including cursing, physical punishment unless precluded by administrative interference, and decreased achievement behavior expectations. (Etheridge, 1988b)

Conclusions and Discussion

How teachers moved to school-based practices that were different from what they learned at the university was a complex process. The data presented here does not end

educators' debate over whether university-based factors or school-based factors are more likely to mold teachers to the norms of teaching or even whether there is a wash-out effect. (Zeichner & Tabachnik, 1981) Data from this study do suggest that the school context can push beginning teachers to make adaptive changes. Usually the teachers in this study consciously took, processed, and used information from both institutions when establishing, for practical application, their professional repertoire of beliefs and practices. They began with the knowledge, ability to apply, and preference to use university taught practices. However, school-based realities, such as work conditions and type of work assignment precluded application of many learnings (See Figures 1 & 2). In these instances, public school factors do mold teachers behaviors by placing constraints that pushed teachers to use less preferred practices in order to survive. There was no rationalizing, no decision to be made, they had only an adaptive option available.

In other instances school factors pressured teachers to change but the choice belonged to the teacher. (See Figure 3) The push to choose between university-based preferred practices and less desireable practices seemed to depend, at times, on the amount of effort the teacher was willing to expend to accomplish or carry out a teaching preference. Teachers quickly adapted to lesser ideals when effort expenditure exceeded the perceived rewards or impinged on

personal life. In these instances teachers consciously modified their pedagogical practices in ways that allowed them to continue to complete most of their responsibilities. These adaptations were accompanied by rationalizations that they had not compromised their pedagogical ideals and by satisfying themselves that students continued to learn. These adaptations were strategically planned by teachers to enhance their survival. They seemed to result from negotiations with self over viability and ethical soundness of the changed practice.

Beginning teachers also made strategic adaptations of their instructional strategies based on their dialogue with students. (See Figure 4) They use pedagogy that is consistent with university learnings and their own value systems until they encounter students who do not respond to these practices. When the numbers of non-responsive students were relatively few, teachers searched through their pedagogical repertoires of strategies for ways that would cause students to respond as they desired. If these strategies failed to yield desired outcomes teachers negotiated a truce with problem students allowing them to, in effect, drop out of class activities. Attempts to teach them were stopped. This was a last resort action which teachers readily admitted was not pedagogically sound but necessary.

In schools where large numbers of students did not respond to mainstream pedagogy, teachers went through a similar process. They, however, could not consciously allow entire classes of students to figuratively drop out when their "bag of tricks" was exhausted without experiencing teaching success. So they tried practices that were heretofore unacceptable. From these they adopted whatever practice seemed to gain student respect and compliance. What they perceived as working were behaviors similar to those exhibited by their students--use of vulgarities, violent actions, lies, and literal translation of rigid rules.

The university trained these teachers to be role models be change agents for the school and their students. When students responded consistent with the teacher's expectations for appropriate behavior, the teachers were the role models. In situations, particularly in urban school settings, where preferred practices consistently failed to elicit expected appropriate results, the pattern seemed to be reversed. Students became role models for the teachers. The teachers consciously adopted student-like behaviors as a last resort. The beginning teacher's view was that university learnings were merely set aside until circumstances would allow their application. It is unknown how long university-based learnings can be set aside before they are no longer considered desired teacher practice or

are forgotten. Data not reported here (Etheridge, 1988a) suggest that retraining may be necessary when teachers move to schools serving clientele who are culturally different from the previous school in which the teacher taught.

These findings support researchers such as Zeichner, (1980) and Lacey (1977) who suggested teacher socialization results from complex interactions and that a beginning teacher's social strategy plays a major role in teacher socialization. (See Figure 5) These data also suggest that the strategic adaptive instructional adjustments exhibited by teachers in this study are a fourth social strategy that might be added to Lacey's teacher socialization model and can explain how beginning teachers move from university-based learnings to school-based practices.

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FIGURE 1

Time constraints associated with strategic adaptations of university-based learning to school-based practice.

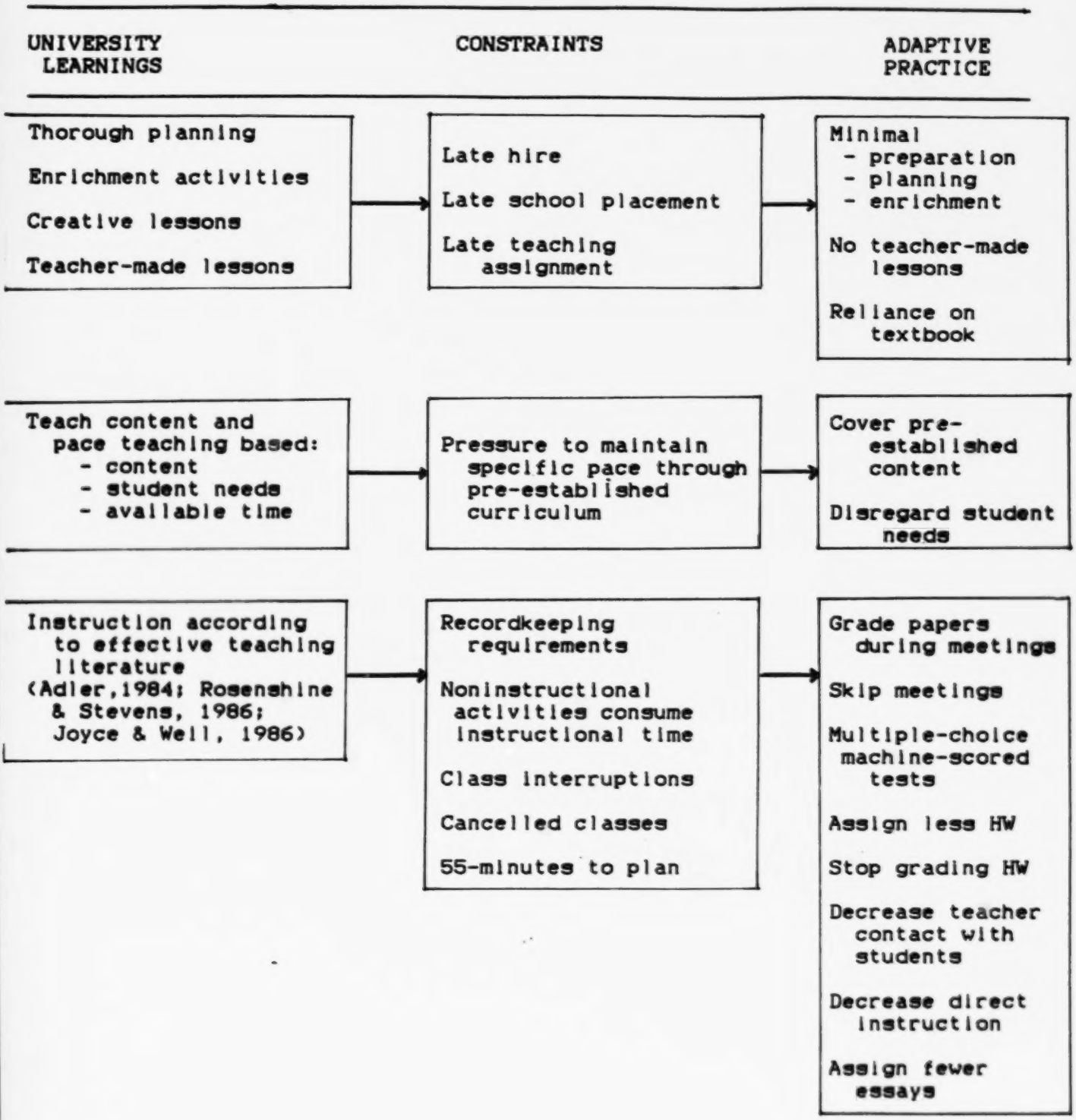


FIGURE 2

Teaching assignment constraints associated with strategic adaptations of university-based learning to school-based practice.

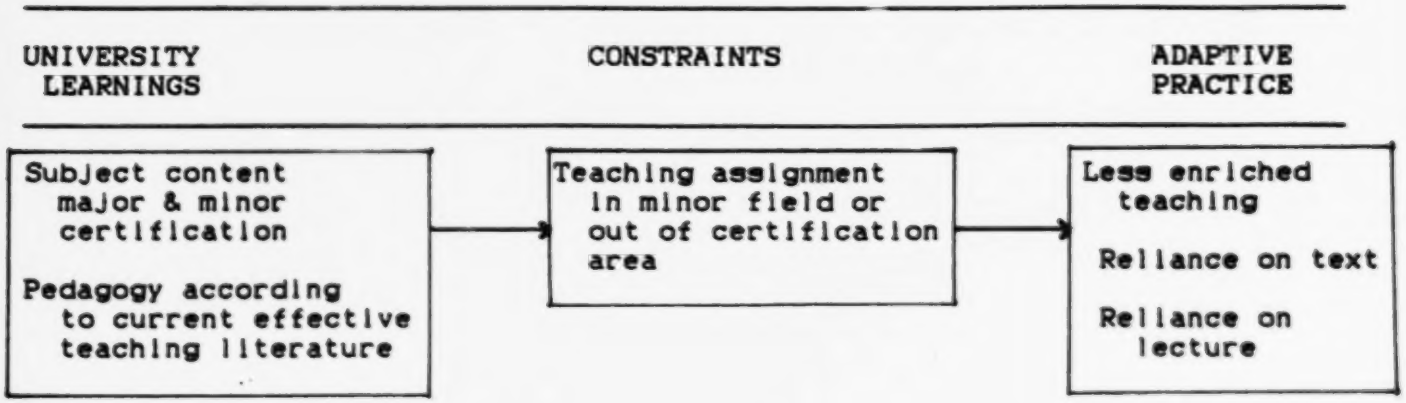

UNIVERSITY LEARNINGS
CONSTRAINTS
ADAPTIVE PRACTICE
Subject content major & minor certification
Pedagogy according to current effective teaching literature
Teaching assignment in minor field or out of certification area
Less enriched teaching
Reliance on text
Reliance on lecture

FIGURE 3

Work condition constraints associated with strategic adaptations of university-based learning to school-based practice.

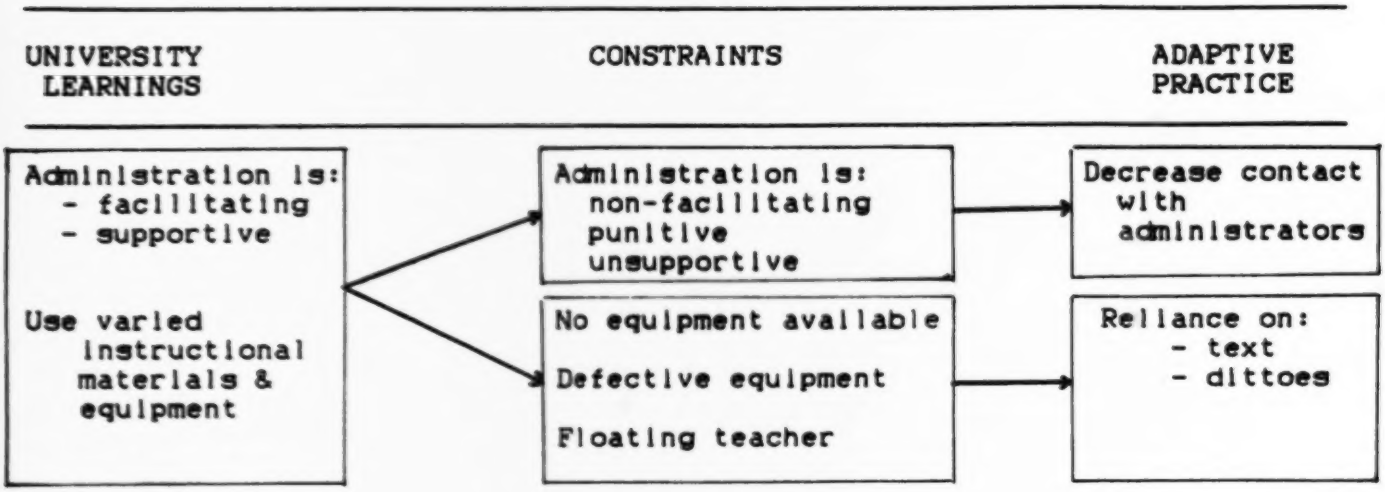


FIGURE 4

Student behavior constraints associated with strategic adaptations of university-based learning to school-based practice.

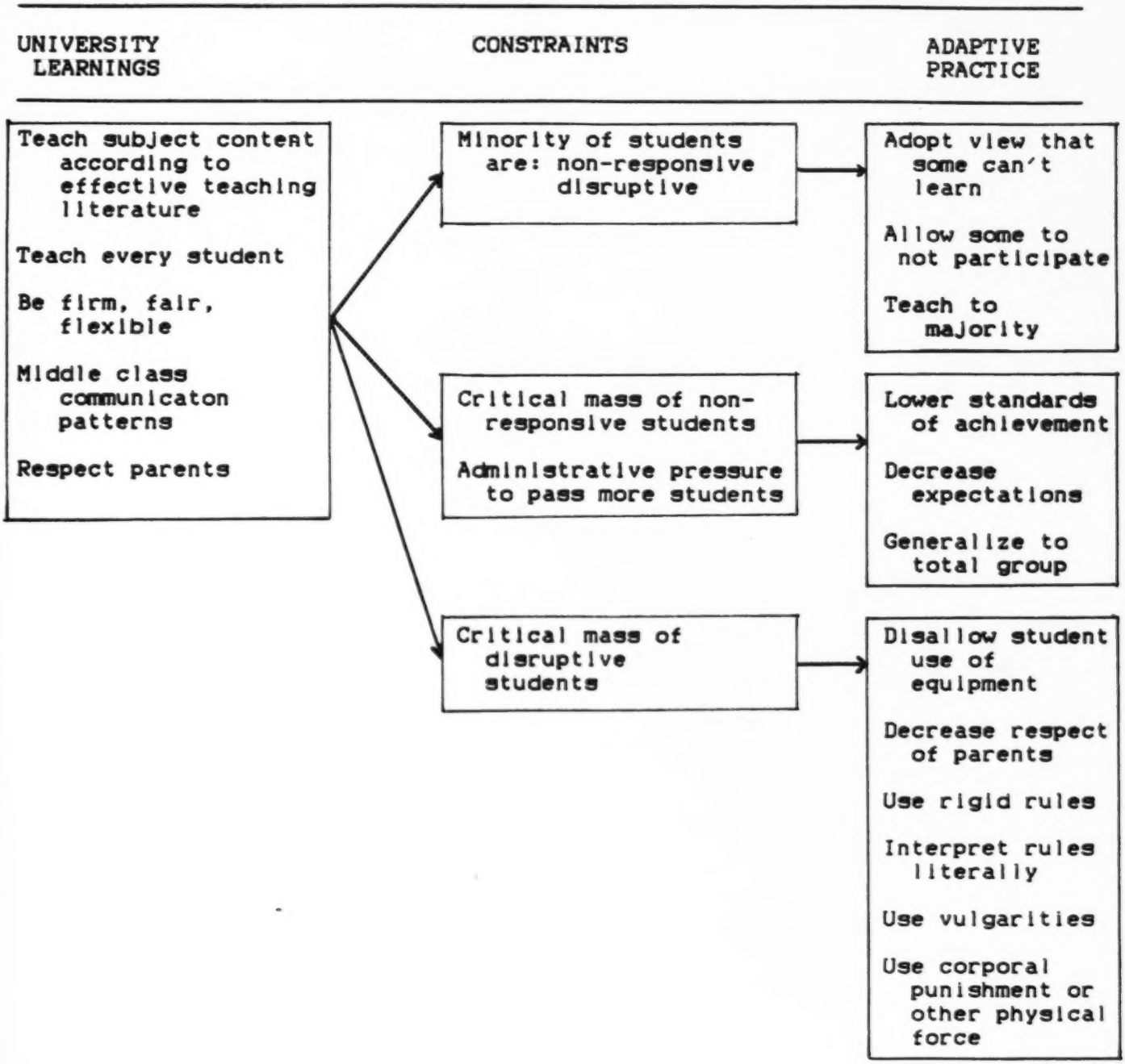
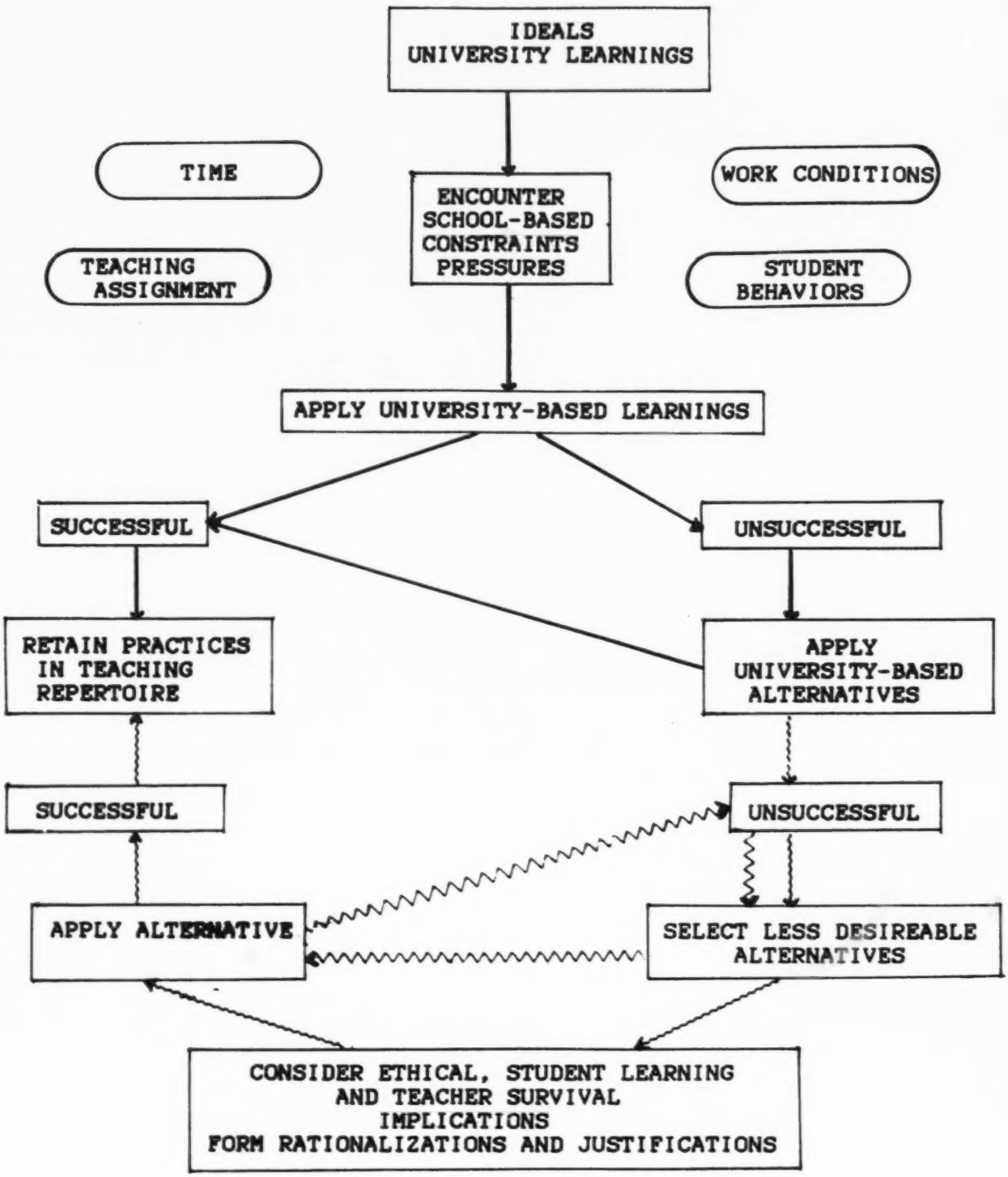

UNIVERSITY LEARNINGS
CONSTRAINTS
ADAPTIVE PRACTICE
Teach subject content according to effective teaching literature
Teach every student
Be firm, fair, flexible
Middle class communicaton patterns
Respect parents
Minority of students are: non-responsive disruptive
Critical mass of non-responsive students
Administrative pressure to pass more students
Critical mass of disruptive students
Adopt view that some can't learn
Allow some to not participate
Teach to majority
Lower standards of achievement
Decrease expectations
Generalize to total group
Disallow student use of equipment
Decrease respect of parents
Use rigid rules
Interpret rules literally
Use vulgarities
Use corporal punishment or other physical force

FIGURE 5

Beginning Teachers' Strategic Adaptation Strategy



preferred strategy ___ acceptable strategy ~~~~ last resort strategy ^^^^

Table 1

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

	Subjects	Personal Description				Marital Status				Subject Areas							School Type												Subjects	
		White		Black		Single		Married									Private			Rural			Suburban			Urban					
		Female	Male	Female	Male	No Child	Children	No Child	Children	Music	Business	Foreign Lang.	Social Studies	English	Sciences	Mathematics	Elementary	Jr. High	High School	Elementary	Jr. High	High School	Elementary	Jr. High	High School	Elementary	Jr. High	High School	University		
Evelyn	17	X					X								X										X				17	
Kerri	18			X		X					X														X				18	
Travis	19		X					X							X	X						X							19	
Faye	20	X						X						X											X				20	
Gayle	21			X					X		X											X							21	
Joelle	22			X		X									X										X				22	
Nancy	23	X						X						X													X		23	*
Tyrone	24		X					X							X	X						X							24	
Derek	25		X			X									X	X			X										25	0
Jack	26		X						X						X										X				26	
David	27				X			X								X									X				27	
Glenn	28				X		X									X										X			28	
Greg	29				X	X				X										X									29	
George	30		X					X				X		X								X							30	
Sharon	31	X							X						X					X									31	*
Total		15	9	4	3	9	2	11	9	3	2	5	2	6	12	8	0	0	1	2	0	5	0	0	12	1	5	4	1		Total

* = Extremely capable 0 = Extremely incapable

Table 1

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Subjects	Personal Description				Marital Status				Subject Areas							School Type												Subjects	
	White		Black		Single		Married									Private			Rural			Suburban			Urban					
	Female	Male	Female	Male	No Child	Children	No Child	Children	Music	Business	Foreign Lang.	Social Studies	English	Sciences	Mathematics	Elementary	Jr. High	High School	Elementary	Jr. High	High School	Elementary	Jr. High	High School	Elementary	Jr. High	High School	University		
Clara	1	X							X						X											X			1	*
Melanie	2	X				X						X															X		2	
Hannah	3	X						X			X														X				3	
Gary	4		X					X						X											X				4	
Duanne	5		X					X						X													X		5	0
Brenda	6	X						X			X		X								X								6	
Carol	7	X						X						X													X		7	
Ruth	8	X							X				X												X				8	
Everett	9		X						X					X	X										X				9	*
Vaudine	10	X				X				X															X				10	
Angela	11	X							X					X													X		11	
Dierdre	12	X				X						X													X				12	
Jeanne	13	X				X						X	X														X		13	*
Beth	14	X				X				X																X			14	
Andy	15		X						X						X												X		15	0
Candice	16			X					X					X														X	16	

* = Extremely capable 0 = Extremely incapable